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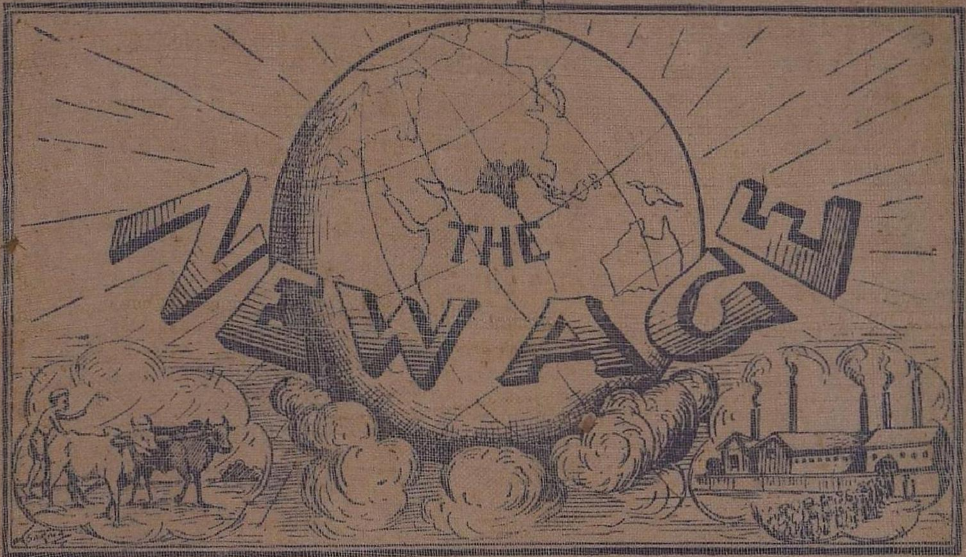

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IN THIS ISSUE

H. G. Wells and Joseph Stalin.

Are not Socialists Better Nationalists?
(M. R. Masani).

The man about Town *(C. R. Srinivasan).*

Doctrines of Karl Marx

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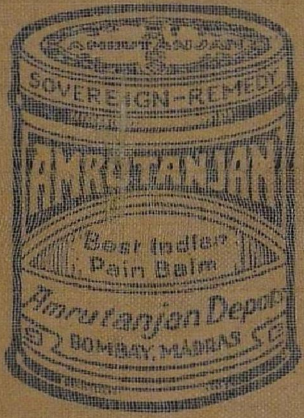

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THE NEW AGE

VOL. I MARCH 1935 NO. 10

RELIGION AND THE STATE

J. P. Joshua, M.A.

What is the future of religion in this country? What exactly is going to happen to it all the world over? This is a question that has engaged the attention of many a great man in the East and the West. It is interesting that at this time a larger number of people are of opinion that religion is an opiate to the people. All over the middle ages, religion was such and even in these days of struggle between labour and capital some people think that God has destined that the labourers should suffer. This remark on religion, therefore is not without any justification whatever. On the other hand there are a number of intelligent and sober people who believe that the salvation of the people of this world can in no other way be achieved than through religion.

What exactly therefore is going to be the future of religion at least in this country? When the younger generation comes to power what will they do to this thing—RELIGION? How will religion fare at the hands of Swarajists? If India were to become communistic what will Indian communists do to the numerous temples, churches and mosques? Some people are too afraid to look into the future except about their own horoscopes and naturally shun such questions. Any student of history will tell us that the state and religion have been and are still in many cases interconnected.

Soviet Russia has declared war against religion. They have a department doing propaganda against religion and it is a a popular one. Officially Orthodox services are tolerated in a limited number of places of worship. But no religious propaganda is ever allowed. A very large number of churches and other grand places set apart for religious purposes have been converted by the authorities into museums, schools, hospitals, theatres or some such place of use to the people. Russia is not the only instance where state has separated itself from religion. France after the revolution has been free from the Vatican. Spain is following suit now.

In India there are a large number of rich Hindu temples. These own lands and other property. Palm trees in many of these lands are leased out to liquor shops for the extraction of toddy. Traditionally is this not the best *spiritual* service the temple can do to the people round about? Some people are of opinion that fabulous sums of money and large quantities of jewels are hoarded up in these places. All this wealth is lost to the masses and just a few

priests and a fewer number of temple servants enjoy the benefits of a fraction of this wealth. A few months back when one of the Coffers of the great temple in Trivandrum was opened ostensibly for the purpose of utilising the money for state purposes, a section of Hindus were shocked at what they termed sacrilege and some actually wished that the prepetrator of this act would cease to live. But nothing happened and crores of people even to-day continue to contribute towards the accumulated wealth of these fattened temples. Thus year after year the money of the poor people is being drained away into these coffers of the temples from where less money comes out than goes in. Naturally this is a cause of complaint for not only the irreligious but also to the thoughtful and the humanitarian.

Even in Christianity, the British Government under the cloak of an Ecclesiastical departament maintain a large number of highly paid (Imperial service grade) men who call themselves "Followers of the carpenter of Nazareth," when millions in the same land cannot find wherewithal to get two meals a day. And if one were to look into the activities of the churches one would find that the churches are more concerned with doctrinal controversies or with raising moneys for the maintenance of the organisations than for doing real service to the people.

A large number of educated people of some means and chariatably disposed, are now inclined to support orphanages, dispensaries and the like rather than pay to the temples. What does a rationally minded young man find around him? Poverty, disease, ignorance, dirt, and the associated vices as the heritage of the vast majority of the people. He also sees large temples, rich, perhaps architecturally beautiful, ill ventilated, inhabited by bandicoots, bats, opulent priests, Devadasis and maintaining a system which out of decency or fear is not called immoral. As long as these atrocities are tolerated and as long as the priests teach the people to be content with their lots or to be loyal to the particular deity or to a particular flag or symbol, religion at least organised ones found around us is not going to do any good to the people and such an anti-social institution is not wanted in this land. If young men were to declare war against religion, as the "Self-respectors" have done, they need not be blamed. One could see that this mentality is bound to gain more adherents and finally triumph. It is therefore hoped that more and more of rationalism would prevail and that they would bury these religions deep and control the institutions, owned by these places for the use of the people. Perhaps it is tragic for the very orthodox to ruminate over this prophecy. Yet it is going to be an established fact before long.

One word to the orthodox. If there is a God, does He love to live in these ill-ventilated and dark places called temples or would he care to reign in the hearts of men and women and transform their hearts and actions? Would you prefer grand edifices and periodic chantings of some mysterious verses or would you care to have a people happy and prosperous? Here is your choice. In spite of this, if some people have a different conception of religion and if this conception is inspired by agents other than human, no, power can destroy such a conviction. On the other hand if the conception is such that it can visualise only temples and the other absurdities, the sooner such an idea is destroyed the better and one would welcome young adventurers to take up the hobby of destroying RELIGIONS.

H. G. WELLS AND JOSEPH STALIN

(By scrutator)

Wells is a great author and a visionary. He belongs to no party and has no particular political principle commanding his allegiance. He is an experimentalist and an advocate of a World-State based on elimination of competition and collective organising of the human race for common good. His Modern Utopia envisaged an ideal state devoid of strife and personal aggrandisement which are seen pronouncedly in the present capitalist state. Consistent with his views and his desire to study the world and its affairs, he takes to globe trotting and meets persons of eminence who have done things remarkably original and contributed to the world history new chapters of unequalled enterprises. According to him, to-day two constructive statesmen with their creative genius have done more things than others and he does not minimise their role in World-History. *They are Roosevelt and Stalin.* They are builders of a new society, both following two different methods, but essentially challenging the present system existing in every part of the world outside the U. S. S. R.

Wells visited the United States of America and had a long conversation with the President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt. Wells is very much impressed by the bold and courageous steps which Roosevelt is taking to tide over the depression, to alleviate the sufferings of the people, to reduce unemployment and to create a new society. His imagination prompted him to conclude that Roosevelts' steps are directive forces in favour of Socialism deserving the admiration of the world at large. But there is another man, a more formidable planner and schemer, to give an entirely different interpretation to Roosevelts' activities. To Stalin the attempts of the Americans are only temporary in order to tide over the depression without any effort being made to change the economic system fundamentally. He believes that they will not destroy the roots of anarchy, which is inherent in the existing capitalistic system. He is not enamoured of the planned economy of the U. S. A. as it is impossible to create planned economy without abolishing the principle of private ownership of the means of production. Mr. Wells understands and agrees. But he insists that by gradual elimination of financial oligarchy the purpose of socialism can be achieved. He says that instead of stressing the antagonism between the two worlds all should "strive to establish a common tongue for all the constructive forces." This theory is too much for Stalin to swallow. His distrust of the bourgeoisie and their past action cannot make him enthusiastic about this idea. With his practical knowledge of things and profound insight into History he proclaims that when the interests of capitalists are affected in a large scale, they will violently struggle to preserve their rights and will command the assistance of all those who are under their pay. So planned economy will collapse if it becomes too drastic affecting the vital interests of the Capitalist class. Therefore class conflict is inevitable.

Wells is adamant. He believes that by controlling the banks and subsequently productive industries, the state can effectively interfere in the interest of national economy and gradually develop to Socialism. He emphasises the role of the guiding brain, the captain of the ship without whom the ship can not sail. But Stalin retorts that a captain without a ship is an idle man and can do nothing when the ship is not

there. The idea of class war does not find favour with Wells and he pleads for class collaboration by comparing the whole of humanity to a big ship. Stalin replies as follows:—"You, Mr. Wells evidently start out with the assumption that all men are good. I, however, do not forget that there are many wicked men. I do not believe in the goodness of the bourgeoisie." Wells passes on to the goodness in human nature and refers to the cry even among the capitalists for the reorganisation of Society. He is of opinion that this change of mentality is not due to the class war propaganda, but the result of scientific evolution of ideas. He pleads for its adoption and leave the class war theory. Stalin who has been immersed in the Marxian theory of class war replies, that the capitalist class will never agree or help to create a new Society by forsaking their interests.They cannot find an exit consistent with their class interest without disturbing fundamentally the interest of capitalism. Stalin opines that such temporary measures as are adopted by the capitalist class can never help to build a stable society on a socialistic basis. Thus he discounts the ideas of Wells.

Wells, bred on the lines of democratic thinking is averse to any kind of dictatorship and he mildly hints that revolutions are created by only minorities and they in the long run become tyrannical as the masses are always indifferent, Stalin's effective reply for this query is that a minority cannot bring about a revolution without the solid backing of the masses. Wells does not find any necessity for a revolutionary minority party to create a revolution, as in his opinion, the old order is tottering automatically and it will be very useful for the pioneers of social reconstruction to make use of the opportunities and bring the desired transformation. He suggests that as the present social system is breaking down of itself, the constructive minded people can step in and create the new social order. The reply of Stalin in this connection is worth noting "Yes, you are right when you say that the old social system is breaking down. But it is not breaking down of its own accord. Take Fascism for example. Fascism is a reactionary force which is trying to preserve the old world by means of violence. What will you do with the Fascists? Argue with them? Try to convince them? But this will have no effect upon them at all. Communists do not in the least idealise methods of violence. But they, the Communists, do not want to be taken by surprise, they cannot count on the old world voluntarily departing from the stage" Stalin's background is history and armed with historical facts as to how feudalism yielded to capitalism, how the activities of Cromwell in England in the 17th century forced the old social system to change, and how France in 18th century rose against the monarchy he justifies the role of the progressive elements struggling to change the present decaying order.

Wells is much convinced. He agrees with much of what Stalin says. But he has his own definite view of things and he puts his point of view in the following way, "First I am for order, second I attack the present system in so far as it cannot assure order, third I think that class-war propaganda may detach from Socialism just those educated people whom Socialism needs". Stalin amiably replies that in order to create changes, an organised fighting force is necessary and this force cannot be raised without proper propaganda and education. He answers Wells by stating that the experience of history speaks against an assumption that the ruling class will ever agree to give away to the oppressed class voluntarily. He comes back to where he started and declares his faith that salvation for the oppressed sections of humanity lies in their own hands and not in the hands of the oppressors.

Wells gratefully acknowledges the courtesy shown to him by Stalin, the guider of the destiny of millions of Russians today and the following words reveal his feelings, "At the present time there are in the world only two persons to whose opinions, to whose every word, millions are listening: you (Stalin) and Roosevelt. Others may preach as much as they like; what they say will never be printed or heeded".

Wells came to conquer with his mighty vision of a World State, on the basis of the rule of law and class-collaboration Stalin, the most important man in the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics. But all the alluring phrases of Wells could not shake by a hair's breadth the revolutionary Marxism of Stalin. And Wells, at least so far as his conversation with Stalin went, had to admit himself beaten. But, like schoolmaster in Goldsmith's poem, even though vanquished he will argue still!

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THE CINEMA IN RUSSIA

By Huntly Carter.

The Soviet cinema, like the Soviet theatre, is playing a definite part in the life of the Soviet culture. That much must be apparent to visitors, except those who are too prejudiced or have not the knowledge to see the truth. A second obvious fact is that this cinema promises, under the Five-year Plan that comes to a close in 1937, to cover the whole of the vast Soviet Union. The American cinema industry has hitherto had an unparalleled magnitude, as is proved by figures that take the breath away; for instance, look at the U. S. A. average attendance weekly, stated to be 70,000,000. But the Soviet magnitude promised by the second Five-year Plan should, if realised, make the American industry look like a little down-town affair. Against the 20,000 or so United States theatres there will be 50,000 Soviet theatres, excluding a vast number of screens with which schools, factories, and workshops will be equipped. The grandiose proposal to cinematise the whole of Soviet Russia, with its 160,000,000 population, including different minor nationalities, could hardly be surpassed.

But though the industrial Five-year Plans are assisting to build the cinema by providing a new and important content and the cinema is assisting to carry out the Five-year Plans, their close relation is not so apparent as it was, say, in 1931 and 1932. At that time the motion pictures were largely concerned with dramatic illustrations of processes of the various vast industrial undertakings, as in "Ivan," where the simple melodramatic story of the transformation of a young peasant into an heroic shock-worker is made the medium for the exhibition of one of the greatest engineering feats, the construction of the great dam and electrical station called Dnieprostroy.

For the moment this type of picture has fallen into the background. This does not mean that the machine is losing favour with the head of the Sov-Kino production department. One director explained to me that the machine is not likely to go out of fashion, not at present at all events.

"The Soviet Union (he said) is a new country building an entirely new industrial life. When the Revolution took place Russia was industrially backward and the machine was not understood nor popular. Since then the people have learned to produce machines and take great pleasure in the task. The machine is a new source of inspiration. Poetry, music, art, drama, cinema, literature—all are singing its praise. The machine has opened the door on a new life that promises to bring happiness to the vast toiling masses. That is why we exalt the machine and shall continue to do so for some time to come. But we are not tied to the task of portraying the machine only and shall vary the content of the motion picture."

We were discussing the new cinema tendencies, which, I pointed out, did not differ from those I had observed in the theatre. They included new and less obvious propaganda, or propaganda for home consumption. The portrayal of characters is less like machines and more like human beings as Socialists see them. The trend from literature and towards the encouragement of Soviet authors to write directly for the cinema. (At the same time the portrayal of the best classics continues.) The attention to rural, village, and

peasant life and not to urban life exclusively. The turn to the scientific "imaginative" story of the Jules Verne, H. G. Wells type. The disappearance of montage tricks. The passing (perhaps temporarily) of the theorists of the Eisenstein-Pudovkin school (Eisenstein is producing a play), and the return of the more conventionalised, sentimental, and straight feature pictures.

The best example is the very fine picture "Three Songs on Lenin," by D. Vertov—a picture that called forth praise from H. G. Wells and Will Rogers, who, like myself, were privileged to see it at a special private view of the Mejhrabpom studio. "Three Songs on Lenin" has fine qualities and shows that Soviet Russia is well ahead not only in the utilisation of a vital social content by its cinema but in the production of real quality pictures. In particular, photography and lighting are of a high standard, and there is no turning to fakes and tricks. For this reason several of the best pictures have found their way to foreign markets, among them being "Petersburg's Night," a classic taken from Dostoevsky's pre-war novel, and "Psyche," another classic, drawn by Michel Room from Maupassant's story. These and others were shown at the Venice International Cinema Exhibition.

"Three Songs on Lenin" is the story of a great leader. Box-office returns in England would demand the private life of Lenin, with plenty of sex and dirt, and not a little insanity. Vertov has taken three Asiatic folk-songs published since the death of Lenin which suggested to him three stages of Lenin's life, death, and profound influence. The result is a magnificent survey and pageant of Lenin's ideas and their actuality as seen through the realistic—romantic eyes of Asiatics.

The three Eastern songs deal with (1) Liberation of Women; (2) Electricity and Light, and (3) Education, as brought about by Lenin. The processional of scenes produced by the subjects covering most sides of the big constructive effort have many song titles. For instance, "My face was in a black prison; I lived without light, without knowledge, but the light of Lenin's truth appeared" accompanies scenes of a women's club, school, &c. Common ownership is shown by the series of titles "My Land," "My Factory," "My Collective Farm," &c. And so we see the creative seeds sown by a leader in field, mine, factory, city, and village. We see a truly magnificent picture inspired by a great subject. It should be added that the picture is documentary. All the scenes and people are actual. There are no professional players.

"Accordion," by the young producer Savchenko, is a highly original picture of life on a collective farm. The theme is very simple. A young official decides that music is not compatible with the serious work of the farm. He buries his accordion, but on being convinced that business and pleasure go together on a collective farm he recovers and uses it. The theme is developed by means of vivid and vital scenes in which the young Soviet farm people take part, and the introduction of music, singing, dancing, sport, merrymaking, and the rest combine to make a picture of singular Soviet importance—a picture of Soviet culture and civilisation.

The adaptation of Maupassant's "Psyche" likewise is a union of propaganda and art. "The Nightingale," a Nicholas Ekk 1934 production, "The Deserter," and two or three more of the best pictures confirm the opinion that Soviet picture producers are moving in the direction of convention, simplification, and a blending of the very best straight forms and methods. They are producing pictures in which quality is uppermost and propaganda is simply what anyone likes to make it.

—*The Manchester Guardian.*

THE MAN ABOUT TOWN

By
Mr. C. R. Srinivasan
(Editor : Swadeshimitran)

The title sounds a little intriguing and you wonder what queer fishes I comprehend in this class; if it comes to that, you feel you are as much a man about town, seeing that you have been living in the city for decades past, paying your rates and taxes and partaking of its pleasures and privileges. But you forget you have other interests in the City; You have your work to attend to, for one thing, in the busy offices of the city, and it is only incidentally and in consequence of such work, that you come in for a share of the good things of civic life. There are others however, who better fill in the description of men about town and who do not lend themselves to classification otherwise. These have no work of their own; and no inclination to go in search of any; they are content to pass through life, in ease if possible but without worry certainly. They do not bother themselves about the morrow. Tomorrow will take care of itself. Sufficient unto the day is good enough for them. Care killed a cat, and that is why perhaps none of this fraternity bothers over the future. There is a Muslim proverb which says that He who planted will see to the watering. Our men about town have infinite faith in the wisdom of God. He created them and it is for Him to see that they thrive. Providence evidently is discharging its trust; for the breed, old as creation has not yet died out. In every country and in every age you come across this type. Intelligent they are certainly, but they will not apply themselves to any work; busy they are likewise, but ever on other people's work. God has given them wit enough, yet not the wit to fend for themselves. And they go about the world, carefree and self-sure, immaculately dressed and irreproachably turned out, extending barren sympathy and exasperating advice, fulfilling their destiny in God's creation.

You come across them everywhere, especially where you do not want them. Do you want to buy anything? Our man about town is there at your elbow, offering to pick up bargains for you. Do you want to sell anything? Our man about town gets scent of it somehow, and starts chasing you with a potential purchaser in his pocket. Is it a marriage to be settled? Our man about town reels off the names of half a dozen eligible parties at a stretch and will leave you no peace until the matter is concluded; or, is it a matter of delicate negotiation? Our man about town fancies himself specially on the gentle art of suasion and you could not keep him out of it. Games? He will play snooker or billiards for penny points; cards? He will play poker or brag for whatever stakes; he stands nothing to lose and everything to gain. Races? He will get you stable tips if you win he claims a half-share; if you lose he rails at judge and jockey for you. The beauty of the man about town is his versatility. There are few things he does not know and few men whom he does not affect to know familiarly. When you first come across him, your unsophisticated nature impels you to take things at face value. You are impressed with his *bonhomie;* his fund of small talk and *repertoire* of anecdotes and topicals amuse you; and when presently with practised ease, he affects the familiar role, you are flattered and

feel you have made a conquest. The boot is in the other leg, my friend, as may be, you will presently learn to your cost. I do not say our man about town had any deliberate purpose at the back of his mind when he started cultivating you and laid himself out to get into your good graces. It is part of his training, however, to be on the right side of every man of any consequence. Knights of chance cannot afford to neglect opportunities and who knows when you may come in handy. Credit him safely with the sixth sense of knowing how much you are good for, in an emergency. If you have plenty of the ready to blow off, you may be sure he will straightaway adopt you and essay to become your guide, philosopher, and friend. At the earliest opportunity he will touch you for something of account with cheerful inconsequences and if he finds the process easy, he will go on levying toll from time to time. The simplest sucker gets wise in time and pays dearly, meanwhile, for his education. Once disillusioned, you study the man afresh and seek to understand your folly. There he is cheerful and gay as ever, but now you notice the hardness in his eye and the anxiety in his tone. His laugh so contagious, strikes you now as a trifle forced; his jokes carry a stale air about them; the wearisome monotony of his talk sets your nerves on edge; and you search in vain for the charm that depleted your purse while it lulled your senses.

Be sure the man about town has likewise guaged your feelings to a nicety. He knows he will cut no more ice with you. But you have served your term and the world is wide; when he sees you getting restive under the treatment, he looks about in search of a fresh victim, and as often as not, you help him to secure the next, quite unconsciously. Every second a sucker is born in the world, it is said, and cries aloud to be sheared. The man about town has therefore his allotted task in the scheme of things. He drynurses you till you cut your wisdom tooth; and let me tell you, his task is by no means an easy one. It is far easier to deal in commodities or services. A censorious world has evolved a schedule of values and as you conform to the standard, you are assured of a living, a competence or affluence. The course is laid; the pace is set; and the stakes are clear; and the plaudits of the world await your success. You cannot say as much for the men about town. He deals in the psychology of man. He has to find the weakest spot in the strongest man. It is for him to discover the feet of an Achilles or the locks of Simson. He succeeds; yet he is not assured of the fruits of success; the world has no praise for him; not to be expected of course in a world so full of suckers. But you cannot help feeling some sneaking sympathy for the artful dodger who fights a lone hand for a precarious living, with the world ranged against him. Endowed with gifts which would have assured him of a competence through life in any walk he might have chosen, fate has indeed played a trick on him. You may perhaps imagine he does not do any work. He toils not of course by the sweat of his brow, but that is not the standard either. Brain work is rated higher and the man who picks the fruit of other people's brain represents a supertype of workman. The ordinary man has his hours of work and hours of relaxation. But our man about town knows no respite, and indeed his work develops an added swing when the other man relaxes and is off guard. What a tragedy of life!

"The Little more, and how much it is,
The little less, and what worlds
between!"

ARE NOT SOCIALISTS BETTER NATIONALISTS?

By. M. R. Masani,
Secretary, All India Congress Socialist Party.

It has become the fashion in certain circles to talk as if there is something fundamentally inconsistent between Nationalism and Socialism.

This tendency is to be found both in the Gandhain circles where scientific socialism is an athema and also in Communist circles where nationalism is automatically condemned as something essentially bourgeois.

Rightly viewed, however, not only can these two forces of Nationalism and Socialism be harmonised, but it will be safe to go further and say that today in India a man is a better Nationalist for being a Socialist.

This statement may sound a little startling until a correct understanding of the meaning of Socialism is attempted. And here a note of warning is necessary to those who may be inclined to mix up conditions in this country with those that prevail in independent states. Nationalism in a country like Germany, Poland, France or even England is today a reactionary force. It is a sentiment exploited by the capitalists and militarists as a bulwark against the increasing realisation of their solidarity of interests on the part of the workers throughout the civilised world. Hence the British 'National' Government, the '*Bloc Nationale*, of France and the 'National Socialism' of Hitler-the last being in reality bastard socialism.

Now then does Nationalism differ in a country like India? In a subject country like this, Nationalism, instead of being a reactionary force as it is today in the west, is a progressive force.

The Imperialist system has created a very healthy reaction in the form of a desire for national independence, an assertion of national self-respect and the dream of a free and prosperous India holding its head high among the nations of the world. To the extent that this movement is genuinely anti-Imperialist, the Nationalist movement has been a progressive and a potential one.

This anti-Imperialist movement has thrown up another force also and that is the force of economic revolt on the part of those classes most exploited by the imperialist system, viz., the working class, the peasantry, and the lower middle class and as this second force has grown, the Nationalist movement has inevitably changed its colours. As Pandit Jahwarlal Nehru, in a letter to the writer welcoming the formation of the Congress Socialist Group, wrote:- "World events as well as the natural consequence of our last struggle has forced us to think to some extent at least in terms of economics. Our direct action struggles were to begin with, purely political, but mass action released new forces and the political aspect became tinged with the economic. The Congress, nationalist as it was, began to talk rather vaguely and idealistically in terms of some social change. That process of change of idealogy is proceeding apace because it is being hastened by economic conditions as well as the continuance of direct action. The time

has undoubtedly come now which we must think more clearly and develop a scientific idealogy. And this idealogy is, so far as I am concerned, one of socialism."

The adoption of a socialist idealogy, therefore, is only a logical development in the growth of the movemet for national liberation. The nationalist sentiment is certainly strong, probably the strongest,motif in our political life. But it has rather spent its force and by itself cannot possibly take us to our goal of independence. The further the political emancipation is delayed, the more economic aspect of the struggle is bound to develop and the Congress Socialist in pointing out this fact and seeking to harness this new force in the national struggle in reality is a better nationalist than those who seek to shut their eyes blindly to facts and choose to rely only on a sentimental appeal to nationalism which has largely played its part.

How, I am asked, is the work of harmonising these two forces to be performed? To my mind, the programme of the Congress Socialist Party supplies the answer. That programme consists of three parts. The first lays down the Objective for which we must strive. That Objective is the establisment of free Indian State which shall lay the foundations of a socialist society. Russia did not come to enjoy a socialist society simply because its government adopted the name of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. All that a political revolution can do is to set up a state machine which will ensure the speediest development towards a socialist society. The Objective of the Congress Socialist Party details those conditions which the free Indian State must satisfy and those conditions are transfer of all power to the producing masses, the development of the country to be planned and controlled by the state, socialisation of key and principal industries, banks insurance and public utilities with a view to the progressive socialisation of all instruments of production, distribution and exchange, state monopoly of foreign trade; the elimination of princes and land-lords and all other classes of exploiters, without compensation; free distribution of lands to peasants; liquidation of debts of all peasants and workers, recognition of the right to work or maintenance by the state and adult franchise on a functional basis.

The question arises; How is this objective to be attained? The 'Plan of Action' of the party indicates how the country can reach the goal, viz., on the one hand through a refusal to enter at any stage into negotiations on the constitutional issue with the British Government and the raising of a demand for the convening of a Constituent Assembly which alone has the right to formulate a constitution for this country, and on the other through the organisation of the peasantry, the working class, and the lower middle class into Kisan Sanghs and Trade Unions on the basis of their day-today economic and political demands with a view to the creation of a powerful mass movement for the achievement of the Objective. That is the second part of the Party's programme.

The third part consists of the Immediate Demands on which the organisation of the exploited classes is proposed. They are divided into various heads such as political, economic, agrarian and those concerning labour.

The implementing of this Programme, is the task before the radical youth of this country today. It is a programme so ambitious that it cannot effectively be put into operation by a Party as small in their power and resources as the Congress Socialist Party or any other party. Therefore the need for its adoption by the Indian National Congress. In that task of pursuading the Congress to take up this Programme, which can only be

done through a conversion of the rank and file of Congressmen and through a drafting into the Congress of larger sections of the peasantry and the working classes, the Party appeals for the co-operation of all who yearn for the socialist ideal. To the Communist as well as the pure Nationalist the Congress Socialist would say :—" Your antethesis between Nationalism and Socialism is essentially false. Both are anti-Imperialist forces, but neither is strong enough to-day to serve as the sole weapon in the anti-Imperialist struggle. It is only using both that we can attain our goal.'

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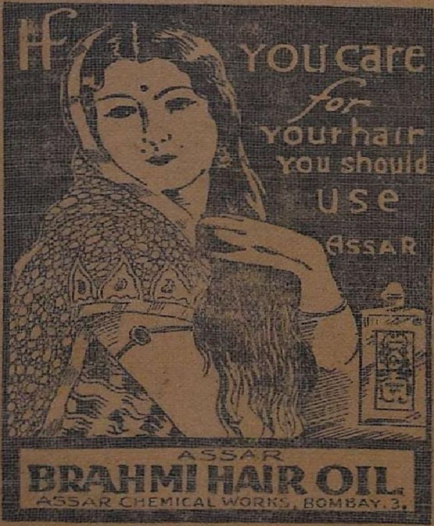

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DOCTRINES OF KARL MARX

By "Nacha"

1. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM.

In introducing the series of articles on the Life of Karl Marx, in the first issue of *The New Age*, Mr. V. K. Narasimhan wrote: "Karl Marx furnishes a method, a technique of studying social problems, which the more we master the better will we be able to understand and solve our problems." That method is Dialectical Materialism. It is not merely a method but also a philosophy. But it is not a philosophy which can secure universal acceptance, at least just now, for the simple reason that circumstanced as we are the search for a universal philosophy is an impossible adventure. That does not mean people have not launched on that adventure before, or will not do so again; but the results will be pyrrhic, and, will not surely secure universal allegiance. What the Marxians contend is that such a philosophy will lack the essential quality necessary for its acceptance by the mass of men, viz. reality. For ignoring the division in society—a division, which, if we analyse without prejudice we will find, is deep-rooted and by its very nature irreconcilable—ignoring, thus, the division in society these universal philosophers discover solutions which are fantastic and unreal. Marx ceaselessly exposed the pretence of these philosophers who evolved Utopias and issued ukases for humanity, unperturbed by, and unconscious of, the fact that humanity is not one and indivisible, but is divided and irreconcilably so. He had the utterest contempt for their so-called "search for Truth," when what should be sought for were the "true requirements of men." He did not believe in any Absolute, for the Absolute was inherently unchanging, while every fact of existence proved only that "all things change." Having a congenital hatred of the unreal and the hypothetical, he went to history, instead of to metaphysics, to discover the laws of social evolution.

Hegel's Dialectic

In this endeavour, the philosophy of Hegel helped him a great deal. For Hegel, unlike most earlier western philosophers, realised that there was such a thing as an evolutionary process. He was an Idealist out and out (and worse perhaps in many respects that other Idealists) but he made Idealism a dynamic conception. The Absolute, for him, was "not a One existing from all time, but an immanent reality gradually achieving actual existence by the evolutionary process of its own thought, discarding ceaselessly the dross of partially conceived and incomplete truths, so as to draw nearer in actual as well as in immament reality to the ultimate Oneness of the completely coherent and rational self-realisation of the Idea." You may make out whatever you like of this. A completely logical statement of Hegel's theory is impossible, as it is illogical. But its valuable element consists in this that it shows how exactly this process of change takes place. It was this element that Marx found useful and historically true. This element is the dialectic.

Hegel conceived each stage of human history as a phase in the dialectical self-realisation of the "Idea." "What was happening in human history

was not what seemed to happen, but the gradual and progressive realisation of the reality immanent in the Absolute Idea. Everything was present in potentiality throughout the entire temporal process of development; but the potential could become actual only by means of the long struggle of the Idea towards self-realisation."

And this struggle was a dialectical process. It was evident to Hegel that society was changing; it was not static as imagined by Idealists before him. But if society was changing, towards what was it changing, and how? For the first question Hegel's answer was, society was increasingly becoming the Absolute Idea in reality as it was in immanence. To the second question, Hegel answered that the process of change was dialectical. This implied that every phase of evolution was a *thesis*, "the embodiment of an incomplete and imperfect version of the Idea." But being imperfect, it suggested its complement, or a part of it, embodying a different aspect of the Idea, or as Hegel put it, the *antithesis* of the former. Between these opposites a struggle is inevitable and that struggle is the process by which civilisation is evolving. "But out of this struggle neither *thesis* nor *anti-thesis* can emerge absolute victor.". On the contrary, out of the conflict between *thesis* and *anti-thesis* will emerge a new *synthesis* embodying the valid elements in both. And this *synthesis* again will form the *thesis* for a new conflict, giving rise to a new *anti-thesis*, the conflict being resolved by the discovery of a fresh *synthesis* and so on. And this process, Hegel argued, was the process by which the Idea marched from poteniality to actuality.

But what is this Idea? How came it to be Absolute? Hegelianism fumbled for an answer. Feuerbach, going to the other extreme, not only demolished the entire fabric of Idealism, pointing out its essential unreality and worthlessness but even asserted that matter was all and everything else was a product of matter, implying in its existence the pre-existence of matter. Feuerbach's materialism, it is apparent, is an equally inane doctrine, as even on its acceptance social evolution remains an insoluble enigma.

Marxian Materialism

Marx realised quite well the inadequacies of both Feuerbachian materialism and Hegelian Idealism. But in both, there were certain important features which he found could form parts of a rational theory of social evolution. And this theory was Dialectical Materialism.

Dialectical Materialism comprehended the social process essentially as a changing category. This conception was in utter contrast to the method of contemporary economists (and some of our own day) whose analysis was based on the fundamental conception of a static society. All change was considered a "disturbance" to the "normal." Marx, however, realised that these "disturbances" were the really normal things about society. It was, he contended, ridiculous to seek in a theory based on a static conception of society a correct theory which could explain organically and comprehensively the nature of social change. But if society was not static, but dynamic, what was the process by which society was changing. Here Marx found Hegel's conception of 'dialectic' a wonderful clue to the understanding of the process of social dynamics. Marx could not accept Hegel's dialectic in its entirety. It was idealistic, unreal, and unhelpful to real understanding of social change as a temporal phenomenon. Feuerbach had made mince-meat of Hegel's Idealism, but he had not realised the value of Hegel's dialectic. Marx realised that all change happened by a dialectical process, but it was all change in the phenomenal world of everyday ex-

perience. Feuerbach had shown that this phenomenal world alone was real and that the world of the Idealists was an Illusion, figment of their imagination, clever piece of intellectual jugglery and nothing more. If it was not intended to deceive others, it was an ingenious attempt at self-deception. It was, therefore, futile to go to the Idealists for a true understanding of the nature of reality. The things we experience in everyday life, Marx contended, "were not abstractions or imperfect expressions of a superior reality existing outside space and time, but ultimates beyond which we cannot and need not go." The search for an Absolute outside common human experience was a quixotic quest. Our daily experiences "are the only reality in which all thought, all ideas, all purely mental or spiritual constructions are built." All that we can do is to understand this reality, and, by our efforts and in the light of that understanding, make ourselves increasingly masters of its development. For it is developing; there is a continual change. Our business is to discover the law of that motion and to control it in the best interests of society. But we cannot go outside or beyond this reality; for it and nothing else is the universe in which we are. "The external world is the external world, and not either an idea in our minds or a reflection of some ideal substance outside and beyond our experience."

Dialectic of classes

Further, this real world of experience, as already stated, is changing. And it is changing, Marx contended, by the dialectical law of human conflict. What are the nature and method of this historic law—for it is historic and not metaphysical as Hegel's dialectic is.

It is things, as has been argued here, which are the ultimate realities, and not ideas. It is they, therefore, according to Marx, which are the ultimate motive forces of human history. But, what things? Marx, after a profound analysis of historical growth came to the conclusion that the ultimate things, which determine the nature of social change, are "the forces of production." Before men can think, dream dreams or evolve Utopias, they must exist, that is, they must produce by some means or other the necessities of their existence. And therefore their most vital relationship with all that is external to them is the economic relationship, the relationship by which they live. On the basis of this relationship they rear a great superstructure of art, religion, politics, philosophy, law etc. As production, that is, the method by which men wrest their means of existence, advances, with the increase in men's knowledge and opportunities, human history passes through corresponding phases of development. "To each broad phase of development of the powers of production corresponds a phase of human evolution."

But, then, where does the dialectic come in? Here we see Marx's distinctive contribution to the understanding of history. ForMarx it was who first enunciated the proposition that human history is the history of class struggles. In these class struggles are to be seen the dialectical process working itself out clearly. We shall deal in a later article in more detail with the nature of the class struggle, how it develops, and how it resolves itself, and how revolutions take place. Here it shall suffice to show the general character of Marx's dialectic. As already stated, Marx holds that "to each broad phase of development in the powers of production corresponds a phase of human evolution." Now, Marx argues that each stage in the development of the powers of production gives rise to a particular set a economic relationship among men. That is because any condition that determines the relationship between men and the forces of pro-

duction in a particular way determines also their economic relationship *inter se.* "And to these economic relationships correspond appropriate political and social relationships, which arise out of, and react upon the economic conditions." But these relationships, Marx points out, necessarily range men into economic classes. That does not mean that between these fundamental economic classes in society there are not intermediate groups. But for groups to exist with a historical significance, they should attach themselves to one or other of the fundamental economic classes in society. The development of the powers of production on the one hand, and the growth of classes and the changes in their relationships on the other, are continually operating to produce conflict between the classes. The thesis and the antithesis in society are not, from Marx's point of view, two imperfect manifestations of the Idea as Hegel held, but the antithetical classes in society. The struggle between them has hitherto resulted in a synthesis being found in the growth of a new class, as history has shown. But this new class by its very nature implies and creates its enemy. Thus the struggle goes on, (has gone on,) till it leads to the establishment of a classless society.

Classless society.

Will that stage ever arrive, it may be asked? Yes, says Marx. The present stage in the production is such that the class struggle inherent in it can have only one issue viz. the abolition of classes. For the only class which, by its inherent character, is uncompromisingly opposed to the existing order is the working-class. And this class, when it overthrows the capitalist system, cannot constitute a new class which will bring about another class into existence, inherently opposed to it, for then there will be no classes. Then, as Marx said, "History begins." For men will consciously make their own history and not as in class societies, where history is the haphazard product of class struggles.

What will become of the dialectic then? The answer of the Marxians is frankly that know not what philosophy will be needed by men in a classless society. Each age, Marx insisted, sets for itself only the problems which it needs to solve and which it can solve. To attempt to see beyond these is idle speculation. This does not mean that the dialectic is of value only in a class society. The dialectic, it must be noted, is a law of social change, and in class society the dialectic takes the form of class struggles. In a classless society the dialectic may function in some other form. We shall leave it to the socialists to evolve the dialectics of progress in a socialist society. In the present society our business is to join the class struggle and fight for the establishment of a classless society. Whosoever abandons that struggles, under whatever pretext, is an enemy of humanity. That is why the Marxians urge that whosoever is not of them is against them and against mankind.

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THE MASSES AND THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE

By
A. G. Venkatachary, B.A.

"Is it or is it not true that if you count the number of men from the far off land who govern you, it is no offence to say but it is good to realise it, that more keepers would be required to drive as many cattle than the number of men from the far off land who govern the 350 million men, women and children in this land?"

So did Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the opposition in the Legislative Assembly, ask the students of the Lucknow University in a spirited address delivered recently on the 'National struggle and the role of the intellectual classes."

Urging the youth of the country "to translate into action those ideas by which alone it is possible that man shall be man," he made it absolutely plain that in order to win the freedom which belongs to man, national consciousness, national solidarity and a national resolve to make the necessary sacrifice were absolutely indispensable.

Mr. Bhulabhai referred to the last campaign and rightly emphasised that the movement did not succeed because while those in the thick of the fray were physically suppressed, the rest did not respond or retaliate. The young men were told, he says, "If you enter any struggle for freedom, your careers will be ruined," So they were restrained,—in some cases by their parents and in some due to what amounted to external coercion.

"Our merchant class after a time, who in the earlier part of the struggle were at our elbow, slowly thought that it was not worth while to continue their support and the result of it was that for the moment our struggle was spent."

These two remarkable admissions on the part of one who is the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party should serve as infallible guides for a correct appraisal of the present situation and chalking out an unfailing programme for the future struggle.

It is better to explain here why and how this utter reaction overtook the nationalist movement. After Gandhiji's return from the second Round Table Conference the second Civil Disobedience movement was started; but steps were taken even before hand to crush it at all costs. Record repressive measures were adopted against every kind of political activity worth the name, and with the willing acquiescence or half-hearted protests from imbecile legislatures, economic legislation designed to secure a firmer hold for British vested interests on Indian economy was passed. These had the cumulative effect to make normal political life impossible. The Mody-Lees Pact, the Reserve Bank, the Statutory Railway Authority, the enormous and continuous drain of gold, all these have mainly been designed to maintain their economic and political hold over our unfortunate country. The 'National' Government in Great Britain which was formed to save British Capitalism from collapse adopted as their Indian policy, Imperial preference, to keep India a close preserve for British products.

The Government policy was a success mainly because of the reaction in the ranks of Indian propertied classes. Zamindar and other members of the

landed aristocracy whose very existence is inextricably intertwisted with British vested interests in India and who proclaimed, at the top of their voices, their unswerving loyalty to the Government and arrayed against their own countrymen engaged in the noblest of all fights- the fight for national liberation.

The merchant and mill-owning classes who stood largely to gain through the boycott campaigns of the Congress supported it only so long as it did not affect them but on the other hand gave them more.

When the Congress movement was on the wane, the mill-owners made common cause with British capitalists. This was evident from the Bombay mill-owners entering into a pact with Lancashire even when the Government were forcibly crushing the national struggle out of existence. The Mody-Clare-Lees Pact, as this is popularly known, was the high-water mark of capitalist reaction in India. For, the working masses and the cotton-growing peasants of India were entirely ignored by the protagonists of their pact. The menace, in the long run, to the Indian cotton industry, arising out of this Pact was also ignored. The co-operation which the mill-owners under the lead of Mr. Mody offered, was a master-piece of sinister subterfuge. They had bartered away India's inalienable right to make herself self-sufficient in her textile needs, in exchange for highly questionable advantages of a temporary nature. What drove them to embrace the very same 'Imperial Preference' which but a few years ago they loathed to look at was their anxiety, whatever be the outcome of the national struggle, to safeguard their own profits.

Undoubtedly the Mody Lees Pact was the fore-runner to the present Indo-British Agreement of January 9 against which the merchant class are up in arms. Their opposition to the Pact is of a two-fold nature. Not only were they not consulted by the Government of India before entering into an agreement under the euphemistic plea that no departure from principles was involved, but because the present agreement strikes at the root of Indian industry and seeks to shut out further expansion in the future.

Sub-clause 2 of Article III of this Agreement says:

"The Government of India further undertake that the measure of protection to be afforded shall be only so much as and no more than will equate the prices of imported goods with the fair-selling prices of similar goods produced in India and that wherever possible, having regard to the provisions of this Article, lower rates will be imposed on goods of United kingdom origin.

This Agreement has certainly exasperated our industrialists who have already been struck to the core by the statutory provision of commercial safeguards, a tame enough expression to signify the forced domination of British Capital. The Indian capitalists are thus thrown overboard, in the full knowledge that beyond verbal protests, they would be thoroughly impotent. So they want again the support of the Congress. They pose themselves as super-patroits, realising the fact that any salvation for them lies only in alliance with that great national organisation. Their representatives now work in close collaboration with the Congress party in the Assembly today.

The parliamentary opposition in the Assembly now inflicts a chain of defeats on the Government, but the latter seem to take them quite nonchalantly and ignore them altogether. Under the 'reformed' constitution even this pleasure will be denied to the members of the Federal Assembly due to the very nature of its composition.

Therefore along with a Parliamentary programme to check if possible, the incalculable mischief that is being

done it is abundantly clear that an extra-Parliamentary struggle alone will help us to achieve our national objective. It is futile to bank upon the support of the propertied classes, even if at the outset it seems to be readily forthcoming. Some of them may be helping the struggle through and through; but what guarantee is there that they would not desert the struggle and join the opposition ranks in exchange for a promise of class advantages. Their past is a mirror to their future and so our main reliance for the next struggle should be placed on the masses in the cities and in the villages.

The villagers are today in a sullen mood of discontent. The unbearable burden of unproductive debts has been the last straw on their backs. A perniciously heavy system of taxation, has driven them to abject poverty. They live in horrible hovels and have to grovel in dirt and disease. Their purchasing power is at its lowest ebb and they seem to be nowhere in the scheme of things ordained by the bureaucracy. The plight of Zamindari ryots and landless labourers needs immediate attention. It is the paramount duty of the Congress to take up the cause of the peasants without further delay.

It is the duty of the Congress as the champion of the oppressed to organise the workers as well not only for their immediate betterment but also as a necessary lever for the successful prosecution of the next stage in the fight for national liberation.

No doubt the two Civil Disobedience movements have awakened the masses to some extent; but it is idle to pretend or suggest that it was an organised mass struggle.

The logical conclusion of Sjt. Bhulabhai's arguments as to the cause that led to the failure of the struggle is a determination to profit by its lessons and avoid former mistakes. The lesson is this. As long as the toiling masses are not in the vanguard of the struggle, so long, political and economic emancipation cannot be achieved. The following programme should be immediately adopted.

(i) Purging the Congress of all peace-time allies, landed aristocracy and the money-bags only hankering after power and prestige and without any uncompromising determination to fight to a finish.

(ii) An intensified organisation of the peasants on a programme of economic and social emancipation, formulating their minimum demands in conformity with local conditions.

(iii) Purification of the Trade Union movement, which, unfortunately today has mainly fallen almost everywhere into the hands of extremely conservative opportunist 'leader' with little or no ideological background, and welding the working masses into a united impregnable, bulwark against all forms of Capitalist or Imperialist attacks.

Perhaps this may be too much to expect from the congress as at present constituted or influenced. In that case, it is for the Congress Socialist Party to take the leading role in this important work, by not only acting through or co-operating with the existing workers and peasants' organisations but by creating them wherever not existing, and carrying on a vigorous campaign of political education of the masses through the Press and the Platform.

PLANNED PRODUCTION FOR COMMUNITY CONSUMPTION

By Lord Passfield *(Sidney Webb)*

The comparative statistics of the production and exchange of commodities in all the countries of the world during the past decade demonstrate beyond all dispute a remarkable difference between the U. S. S. R. on the one hand, and, on the other, all the various capitalists communities. In the U. S. S. R. between 1925 and 1934, the aggregate amount of wealth production has steadily increased. In all the other countries it has, during the same period, either fallen off, or, at best, hovered about the average for previous periods. *In the U. S. S. R., Industrial Unemployment has ceased to be a Problem, whereas, in all other countries of advanced industrialism, a continuous Involuntary mass unemployment reduces the honest statesman to despair. What is the cause of this remarkable difference?*

It is not sufficiently explanatory to the foreigner to reply that the cause is to be found in the fact that U. S. S. R. enjoys an economic system mainly "collectivist" in character, whereas other nations still have one essentially "individualist" in character. Can we identify more specifically the economic cause of continuous increase of production prevailing everywhere else?

Effective Demand in U. S. S. R.

I suggest that, so far as concerns the answer to this question, the essential difference between the U.S.S.R. and all the other countries, is that, in the former, the whole working population is now ensured, for every day of the year, what the Western Economists term an "effective demand" for commodities and services. Throughout the whole world the population continuously demands food, clothing, shelter and other necessaries of existence. But, outside the U.S.S.R., this universal demand for commodities and services is, in a great degree, not an "effective demand" because of their poverty, hardly any "purchasing power." In Great Britain and the United State, and in the other advanced industrial communities, those who control the means of production, and whose sole object is the making of profit by the sale of their product, find themselves unable to sell the commodities that their factories and mines can produce, because the mass of the people, though desiring to have these products, have no "purchasing power." Hence the factories work "short time," or wholly suspend operations. Many of the mines are stopped. Millions of workers are unemployed, and cease to have any "effective demand" at all, so that production falls off still further. With every fresh application of science to the processes of production the situation becomes increasingly tragic.

But how does it come about that, in the U. S. S. R. alone, the demand of the whole population continues to be an "effective demand", owing to their all having "purchasing power?" *The Answer is that only in the U.S.S.R. is there deliberately Planned Production for Community Consumption.* Eeverywhere else there is an anarchy of competetive production, having for its object, not the production itself, but merely the creation of profit for the capitalist.

No Tribute to Capitalists.

There is no magic in the calculations by which Gosplan is able to lay before the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Central Exe-

cutive Committee (T. S. I. K.) of the Congress of Soviets the plan for the whole production and distribution of commodities and services in the U.S.S.R. There is only a complete assurance that the entire working population will have sufficient purchasing power to make its demand universally "effective." These calculations, unlike those of the statesmen of any other nation, begin with an estimate of the numbers of the population who will have to be provided with commodities. The next step is to compute how much of these commodities will be produced by the already existing mines, factories and farms in the U.S.S.R. This estimated amount of production will always reveal a deficiency, if only to the extent of the continuous increase of the population, as well as their growing desires. But the same estimates will show that the number of available workers will also be increased. Consequently Gosplan provides, principally on the proposals of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry for such an increase in the number of mines and factories as will produce the additional commodities required by the increasing population. These additional factories and mines provide at the same time, the employment and wages required by the increasing population, with which the calculation started. Thus, the whole working population, if only it is ensured "purchasing power," creates an "effective demand" for the whole aggregate of commodities and services which that same working population, taken as a whole, will be continuously producing, and which, *because it pays no tribute to Landlord or Capitalist, itself ensures the possession of the necessary purchasing power in the wages of all the Workers.*

Planning for People's needs.

Of course, this explanation of the General Plan leaves out a vast amount of detail. All the workers are not at work every week of the year; but social insurance supplies the gaps in purchasing power that would otherwise occur among those in training, as well as among the sick, the infirm and the aged. Moreover, it is not only commodities that are produced, bought and consumed. All the common Services of defence and administration, central and municipal, all education and recreation, and social insurance itself, have also to be included on both sides of the account. Then the Commodities have to be treated and "processed" packed and handed over the counter to the purchaser. This involves the huge service of transport by land or water, and all the vast business of the co-operative societies, and those of the Commissariat of Home Trade, providing alike service to the consumer and an equivalent amount of employment and wages to those engaged in the work. But all these, and many other details, whilst they involve a mass of calculations, do not affect the principle of planning the whole business so as deliberately to provide for the needs of the population, on the assumption that this very planning will, at the same time, ensure that the entire population if only it works regularly in the opportunities provided for it, will be thereby producing, and receiving in the form of wages, the purchasing power required to make its demand continuously "effective".

Thus, in reply to the question "What causes the difference between the U. S. S. R. and the other countries, so far as successful production is concerned" my answer is, the adoption of the principle of *planned production for Community consumption. Or, to state the Principle in another way, every able-bodied person is under an obligation to work for his living, whilst every person without exception, whether infant or adult, sick or well, is continuously able to purchase the Means of Subsistence.* And the beauty of this explanation is that it answers equally the question of whether this successful balancing of production and effective demand will continue year after year. Will there not come a time when the

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demand itself will fall off? What will happen when every person in the U. S. S. R. has as much food and clothing, shelter and comforts as he desires, and positively refuses to buy any more of anything than he had in the previous year? The answer is that, whilst the kind of commodity or service desired may change, and, in fact, does change, compelling a corresponding change in the kinds that are produced, the desires of man are unlimited and insatiable. When he has enough food and clothing and shelter, he wants also books and gramaphones and theatres. When he has enough for all his appetites, he has desires for music and games and travel. As soon as Gospian satisfies one set of demands, room has to be found for the satisfaction of others. And each new want satisfied, or additional service rendered, on which the people prefer to spend the additional roubles they are receiving simultaneously creates the employment and the wages which constitute the purchasing power, and the "effective demand" of the additional workers which these kinds of commodities and new services employ. There is no reason why the expansion and progressive differentiation of production, itself continuously creating the equivalent effective demand, should not go on without limit or end.

The time may come when every worker in the U.S.S.R., satiated with food, clothing, shelter and material comforts, will have as much music, art and literature as he wants; will even exhaust all the joys of sports and travel. The delights of scientific investigation and Research like those of artistic creation, will then appeal to countless multitudes at present debarred from them. Moreover, all sorts of people will then certainly be developing new tastes. In the U.S.S.R. a demand for occasional opportunities of solitary meditation of the mysterious universe in which we live may be made! In the alternative, some men may possibly be contended with a mere reduction in the hours of labour from seven to four. In Short, the most varied human desires will become "effective demands." *Russia Today.*

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN RUSSIA

Remarkable achievement in the Second five year plan

(The following is an extract of the Report of Kyboshev presented to the Congress of Soviets about the industrial progress of Soviet Russia, published in the Moscow News)

The road traveled by industry in the USSR between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of Soviets is of the greatest importance for the development of the national economy of the USSR. Industrial output has grown tremendously in the course of the four years. In 1933 and 1934 industry fulfilled the programme of the Second Five Year plan, overfulfilling it in a great number of branches. In fulfilling the Second Five Year plan industry—the leading branch of the national economy—leads all other branches of the national economy.

The party and the Government in the course of the past period have unceasingly fixed the attention of the central tasks in industry and primarily in heavy industry, this main force of the national economy. Enormous captial investments were made in industry, particularly in heavy industry, and there was organized a system of universities, technicums and all sorts of courses which provided industry with millions of qualified cadres.

Special attention was devoted to the most important branches of industry. Machine building; electrification; metals, fuel, chemistry were placed foremost in the plans of industry. Concerning these branches a number of organizing decrees were issued. It is sufficient to recall the decree of the Central Comittee and of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR on the work of the coal industry of the Donbas on ferrous metallury, on the oil industry, machine building and so on.

In order to ensure speedier development of the branches producing consumers' goods, the Party and the Government also issued a number of important decisions concerning branches of the light and food industry (meat and canning, cotton goods and others). The context of these decrees was the regulation of the administartion of industry, the improvement of the organization of labour in enterprises, the raising of personal interest of workers in the fulfillment of production plans. The growth of the output of industry (those industries in which comparison with the Second Five Year plan can be made) for the past years is characterized by the following data:

Branches.	Unit of Measurement.	1930	1934	1934 according to 5 year plan. 1934	In percent of the tasks set by th 2nd Five year plan.
Gross output of the whole industry ...	In billion rubles in Prices of 1926 - 27	30·2	59.3	55·8	96·6
Including:					
Group A ...	,,	—	30·5	30·9	98·7
Group B ...	,,	—	23·4	24·9	93·9
Gross output of large scale industry ...	,,	27·5	49·5	50·8	97·4
Metal-Working industry ...	,,	4·8	13.4	12·6	106·3
Output of Electric Energy...	billion knot hrs.	8·4	20·5	19·0	107·9
Output of coal ...	Million Tons	48·8	93·5	96·2	97·2
Including Donbas ...	,,	37·3	60·0	60·	100·0
Oil. ...	,,	18·8	25·5	28·7	85·9
Including Azneft. ...	,,	10·7	20·2	20·0	101·0
Output of Pig Iron ...	,,	5·0	10·4	10·0	105·4
Steel ...	,,	5·9	9·6	9·8	98·1
Rolled Steel ...	,,	4·6	6·7	6·6	101·8
Chemical Industry ...	Million rubles	—	2,208	2,044	108·0
Cotton Fabries ...	Million meters	2,515	2,711	3,059	88·6
Knitted goods Industry ...	Million rubles	318	713	727	98·1
Meat ...	Thousand Tons	—	430	480	89·6
Fish ...	Million Tons	1·28	1·4	1·5	93·3

From 1930 to 1934 the output of the whole of industry grew by 78. 5 percent, with a growth in large scale industry of 80 per cent. A still more significant growth was achieved by some of large scale industry's most important branches. The output of the metal-working industry increased 2·6 times, the output of electric energy 2·4 times, the output of the canning industry, 2·4 times, the output of the knitted goods industry 2·2 times

Thanks to this enormous growth of industrial production for the period under review, the volume of industrial production of the Soviet Union has advanced from fourth place in the world and third in Europe to the third place in the world (After the U.S.A. and Germany) and second place in Europe having overtaken Britain. At the same time, the volume of the Soviet Union's machine-building output has progressed from third place in Europe and fourth in the world, to first place in Europe and second in the world; in electric power generation, from ninth place in the world and fifth in Europe to second place in Europe and third place in the world; in extraction of coal, from fourth place in Europe to third place in production of iron, from the fifth place in the world and fourth in Europe, to third place in the world and second in Europe, in tractor output, from third place in the world and second in Europe to second place in the world and first in Europe.

I have made this contrast with capitalist countries on the basis of a comparison with the level of production in capitalist countries in 1929, that is, the highest point of production prior to the crisis. If we compared the above with the level of the capitalist countries of 1934 the result would be even more favourable for us. It would be seen that for 1934 in industrial production as a whole we occupy not the second place in Europe, as was the case when comparing with the level of capitalist countries for 1929, but the first place in Europe. Similarly we also find ourselves in the leading position with regard to the various branches of industry. (In iron for instance we occupy the first place in Europe and for tractor output the first place in the world).

For the two years of the Second Five Year Plan, the value of industrial output as a whole increased from 43.3 billions of rubles to 53.9 billion rubles, that is by 24.5 per cent. The tasks of the Second Five Year Plan for 1934 have been fulfilled throughout industry as a whole by 96.6 per cent and in large-scale industry by 97.4 percent. It is important to bear in mind that in 1934 the growth of large scale industry amounted to 18.4 per cent so that the pace of growth in production for 1934 was higher than the average yearly tempos for the Second Five Year Plan. Heavy industry is in the lead both as regards fulfillment of plan and rates of production increase. The industry of the Peoples Commissariat of Heavy Industry fulfilled the 1934 plan by 101. 5 per cent, increasing its output by 26.7 per cent.

The most outstanding success in heavy industry have been achieved by the following basic branches of heavy industry which in 1934 overfulfilled their tasks under the Second Five Year Plan:

The machine building industry of the Peoples Commissariat or of Heavy Industry fulfilled its tasks by 103.9 per cent. Railroad machine construction marine shipbuiding, lathe construction, and tool making, pumps and compressors, river machine building have advanced considerably. In the generation for electric power, the task under the Second Five Year Plan has been fulfilled 107.9 percent. a growth of 25.5 per cent over 1933.

Significant are also the victories in the sphere of ferrous metallurgy which failed to fulfill the plans of the First Five Year

Plan and the plan for the first year of the Second Five Year Plan, registered a decisive upward turn in 1934. The plan for pig iron was fulfilled 104·5. per cent giving an increase of 47 per cent as against 1933. The plan for steel was fulfilled 98 per cent, an increase of 40 per cent as compared with the previous year; rolled steel 101·8 per cent, an increase of 37·8 per cent as against 1933. The growth in the output of iron for the year 1934 alone comprised almost four-fifths of the output of iron in 1913.

Considerable overfulfillment of the tasks for the Second Five Year Plan was achieved by the branches auxiliary to ferrous metallurgy, such as the iron ore (Krivoi Rog) and coke which have greatly strengthened the raw material base for ferrous metallurgy. Important achievements have been registered in the sphere of non-ferrous metallurgy. The aluminium industry fulfilled its plan 110·7 per cent increasing its production 3·3 times as compared with 1933; the nickel industry, started only in 1934, fulfilled its plan 106·6 percent. The output of lead almost doubled, while the production of zinc increased more than one-and-a half times.

The growth of gold extraction in 1934 as compared with 1933 must also be noted. In the output of coal the tasks under the Second Five Year plan in the Donbas were fulfilled 100 per cent. The growth in the output of the coal industry as a whole equals 23·7 per cent, which, although somewhat short of the plan, never theless exceeds the rates of growth in coal output during the First Five Year Plan. This is undoubtedly an important victory for the coal industry.

In the oil industry the task under the Second Five Year Plan for Azneff was fulfilled in 1934 ·101 percent, an increase in the production by 25·2 per cent. Nevertheless, the oil industry as a whole fell considerably short of the plan. The chemical industry fulfilled the plan 106.9 per cent as compared with 1933 and achieving a particularly high level of overfulfillment in basic chemicals, the chemico-pharmaceutical industry, the production of composition materials ond others.

Such are the splendid results of the growth of production in Heavy Industry in the first two years of the second five year plan.

A FIGHTER FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Kasthuriranga Iyengar's Services to the Nation.

Apart from those self-sacrificing pioneers of Indian journalism the one dominant figure who championed the public cause with unswerving zeal and who fought the advancing tide of a rigid and reactionary bureaucracy over the freedom of the Press of S. India was the late Mr. S. Kasthuriranga Iyengar. His consuming passion was service of country, his guiding beacon was duty and his trusty staff in the journey of life was courage.

Thirty years have passed away since his taking charge of *The Hindu* which was harassed by monetary worries and hagridden by threats of financial insolvency. There were not then wanting men who were silently wondering at Mr. Iyengar's bold venture. But I believe that Mr. Iyengar's strength of character and the grim determination to do what he must at all costs were the reasons underlying the strange task he had imposed on himself. The consciousness of one's own possibilities, it is rare to find in men; and the realisation of this consciousness by Mr. Iyengar still remains the legitimate yet boastful pride of our nation. But nursing on this unique trait, I am reminded of those lofty words of Bradlaugh: "I have put my hands to this plough. I will either drive it in or break it" Littlewise was the force of his powerful will. I also believe that his fearless courage stood him in great stead. Do we not in our everyday life witness instances of failures resulting from moral cowardice and disbelief in the active force of self?

Mr. Iyengar had been in Government service. He had been active in the promotion of local self-Government. In that he had seen life from various angles. Within a short period after he assumed charge, great events happened in the political life of this land. The Congress was split into diverse camps. Personal feelings ran high. Individual triumphs were the striking notes of the day. It must for ever remain to the credit of Mr. Iyengar that he fought with some moderate leaders to damn their exploiting enterprises. It may not be known to many how a great leader urged by strong feelings of personal considerations stopped subscribing to *The Hindu* In the hyper-sensitive atmosphere that then prevailed, it cost him many friendships and created bitter enmities. "That did not deter him;" wrote his brilliant successor, "strong in the consciousness that the straight path in scorn of consequence was the only true path." he pursued his path according to the Tilakite vision and it is necessary that the views which Sir Sivaswami voiced the other day have to be supplemented. The series of out-spoken criticism condemning the regime of Sir Arthur Lawley for ever insured the reputation of the paper in the public heart. We do not nowadays find such balanced judgment of the work of these satraps. The brilliant reviews of the administrations of Lord Willingdon and Lord Reading by his gifted nephew Mr. S. Rangasawmi were perhaps the last of such sketches. At the close of his evidence before the Royal Public Servi-

ces Commission in Jan. 1913, he snubbed the impatience of Sir V. Chirol by saying, "I am not here to receive any judgment from you as to my conduct as editor" and withdrew. This incident proves how he did not tolerate overbearing attitude and condescending grace towards Indians as a class. It is needless to say that the prestige and popularity of his paper grew daily with his advent.

As regards his innate mettle and worth, I have heard from the late Mr. A. Rangasami Iyengar, how in those distant days, Mr. Iyengar would pitch upon a topic which seemed at the time rather obscure and irrelevant for editorial comment and curiously enough within 2 or 3 days, it would loom large and attract public attention. It was this deep insight into men and matters that helped him to prepare public opinion. Yet with that rare courage and of determined purpose, he headed on towards the goal of success. It is not here my purpose to emphasise once more the great qualities which have raised Mr. Iyengar to the high pinnacle of journalistic glory. Even Great Britain had to recognise his merits. The War articles in *The Hindu* demanded for him a place in the Delhi Imperial war council. He was one of the select editors who visited the war-zone as the guests of the government during the perilous period of submarine-infested waters and strange warfare. In England he met many and discussed various issues. He was made a Fellow of the Institute of Journalists in London. He was also made an honorary member of National Liberal club during his stay there. In one of his speeches there, he clearly pointed out that it will not help either the British public or the Government to ignore any longer the voice of the Indian press. He also reiterated that he had faith in grafting what is called the British character in the Indian Political and social system. After his return to India greater things of high magnitude occurred. The Congress embarked on the policy of non-co-operation and triple boycott. Mr. Kasturi past sixty stepped out into the political arena, accepted the leadership of the party in South India and braved what in those times were considered by many as disastrous consequences. His marvellous industry, his studious nature, and his deep learning in the legal lore contributed together in helping him to build up the stately and spacious mansion of journalism.

My object is more to bring out in bold relief, the manner in which Mr. Iyengar fought for the freedom of the Indian Press than to stress on his other public activities. As already hinted, he was a courageous fighter of indignity and insult. Senility to the swaying passions of the bureaucracy he had learnt as abject. In one of his important utterances in 1917 he disclosed the fact how he took to task a Government member the Hon. Mr. Gullimaun for his base baseless criticism of the *Hindu* whose "fault" was the independent ventilation of its opinion. Again in the masterly memorandum he submitted to Mr. Montague in Dec. 1917 he stated "The Indian Press Act is an instrument of intimidation and oppression in the hands of the Agents of the Government, towards those newspapers which endeavour to discharge their duties honestly and fearlessly."The Panjab massacre or O'Dyerism as it is called evoked the indignant and strong protests of the *Hindu*. The lawless repression was condemned and the Government was accused for all the wrongs. But the Government took offence of the forceful expression of the words used by the *Hindu* but would not set aright its policy. The *Hindu* was gagged by the Press Act for proclaiming that "there is a point of persistence beyond which justice degenerates into vndictiveness and any further tales of the exploits of 'nod-d nonsense' school will only serve to convince the public that that point has been reached and passed." Security was demanded

on 23rd May 1919 for a leader published 15 days before under the caption "The Situation." In spite of all this the editor continued in his own calm way. While pointing out the gross and dangerous infringement of the liberty of the press and how its continuation will lead to the extinguishment of honest and independent journalism in this country, the *Hindu* wrote that as far as it was concerned the contemplation of a perverted application of the Press Act and the involving of it into further pains and penalities will not have the result of inducing it to swerve from its past traditions on the part of journalistic independence and rectitude it has always maintained and it may have to close down on account of bureaucratic intolerance and the harsh misapplication of an unjust law. It is the public that is vitally interested in the maiantenance of a fearless press and in accordance with the saying that the people get the Government they deserve, it is they that must by their efforts show that they deserve a true guardian of their liberties in the organs of public opinion which they cherish and maintain." There were rumours afloat that his arrest was impending: a moderate friend of his advised him to run away from it; but as he had made the country's cause his own, he decided to face the injuries in the battle for the freedom of holding his own convictions. He was equally enthusiastic in permitting this same freedom to others also. His arguments were the stone walls of logic. The political philosophy of Burke and Mill, of Morley and Macaulay were visible always in his writings. "World forces and Great War have enabled" he replied to the address on his 61st birthday "the most thoughtful of our countrymen to realise their strength and self confidence and likewise the fact that the shaping of our future destiny lies in our hands. Our countrymen must cast off their cloth of sloth and stagnation." But of all the traits the most marked was his democratic faith. "Social justice, freedom of the individual, equality of opportunity absence of a priveleged class, and of class domination" he declared as the President of the Manjeri Conference, "are all essential elements in a well developed democratic community. Freedom and fellowship are the essence at contended and progressive life. Political and religious freedom are of little avail without economic freedom." These lofty words are sufficient to show the sincerity and the strength of his character.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer remarked the other day that he would not stir up "the embers" of past quarrels. Who is there let me ask, that hath not his own faults and weakness? A proper estimation of greatness will surely cut Mr. Kasthuri Ranga Iyengar as one who championed the interest of public opinion in this country.

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

I have to write the following few lines with reference to the comment appearing in the January issue of the 'New Age' about my resignation from its editorship. If any explanation was wanted at all, you could have very well published--in fariness to me--the reason as given out by me. Instead, you have made inferences and assertions which I must state are not true and are not based on facts.

I am really proud and happy, that I have 'intense attachment to the Congress and its leaders: In the present circumstances of the country, no true and sane patriot worth his salt can be without that necessary and noble attachment to the greatest institution and its revered leaders in the country. But it is quite a different thing to infer and assert that such an attachment extended also to 'their way of looking at things' or that 'it was difficult for me to view them from a detached point of view and to criticise their actions frankly and without compromise'. My editorial notes and comments in the first three issues of this journal will show that the above statement is not correct.

Another misleading statement which you have made is this. 'It is now clear, however, that this outcome was almost inevitable and unavoidable'. Even before the commencement of the journal, you knew that though both of us agreed on many matters of general policy and aims regarding socialism, we had different temperaments altogether. We knew each other but too well. We had mutually discussed these things threadbare even at the initial stages; and the important conditions, on which alone, I consented to help as editor were, that whatever might be our differences in temperament, my judgment, attitude and temperament should be the deciding factors in the conduct of this journal and that nothing should be allowed to appear in it which would be against them or without my knowledge and consent.

It is true, that the immediate cause of my resignation was the article in question in the December issue of the journal. I objected to it, not because it sought to criticise any eminent person for whom I had great regard, but because in my view, it was lacking in propriety and good taste. Its pretensions to humour and to be only an 'imaginary' report of a conversation were not evident either. One or two portions therein were unmeaning too. The article was unsigned. Above all, it had been put in without my knowledge and consent.

Even as a matter of policy, we were agreed that Congress Socialists ought to aim at strengthening the Congress by helpful though frank criticism leading to its conversion to their views and not weaken it by criticism against it and its trusted leaders.

[We gladly publish the above letter of Mr. E. Krishna Iyer. Though we are disinclined to pursue this matter further, we have to inform our readers that at the time of the publication of the article in question, Mr. E. Krishna Iyer was absent at Benares and could not attend to his duties as Editor of this journal. The responsibility for the publication of the article rests entirely upon the then joint Editor who is the present Managing Editor. Mr. Krishna Iyer therefore stands entirely absolved of the guilt of having outraged the complacent atmosphere of Madras Politics by publishing the article speculating upon the momentous happenings during the meeting of the two "Heads"

Patriotism is hardly an excuse for blind adoration of any institution or acquiescence in the vagaries of its leaders. It is quite possible to keep up one's patriotism while attempting a criticism of policies and personalities. The article "When two heads meet" was intended to warn congressmen against the dangers inherent in the deliberate cultivation of social contacts with high placed officials. The congress under its present leadership is certainly in grave danger of degenerating into a glorified Liberal League. Mr. Krishna Iyer thinks that our criticism was undignified. Some people are apt to conclude that anything unpalatable to them offends their sense of propriety

We once again place on record our appreciation of Mr. Krishna Iyer's services to the "New Age" and hope that he will continue to co-operate with us in making this journal a true medium for the expression of the spirit of the new age.]

WORLD DAY BY DAY

INLAND.

February 12, Benares.—A resolution giving freedom to Congress Committees to set up their candidates for Municipal and District Board elections was adopted at the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee.

The Executive of the Provincial Congress Socialist Party, set up Committees for the organization of peasants and labourers.

Lahore.—A security of Rs. 1,000 each under the Press Emergency Act has been demanded from "Alankar" a Hindi monthly for publishing an article under the caption "Desh Bhakta Swami Krishna Varma."

February 13, Ahmedabad.—The Government of Bombay have rejected the application of the Ahmedabad Municipality for the payment of Education grant amounting to about Rs. 10,00,000.

February 14, Allahabad.—It has been decided to hold the first United Provinces Kisan Conference here on March 9 and 10.

February 15, Bombay.—The Bombay Legislative Council rejected today the motion brought forward by M. R. D. Bell, the Home Member to discuss the J. P. C. Report. The motion was lost by 38 votes to 21.

February 16, Dacca.—The special tribunal has sentenced Dhanes Chandra Bhattacharya to ten years rigorous imprisonment under the Arms Act.

February 17, Lahore.—The Punjab students conference concluded its three days' session this evening. Mr. Bulabhai Desai presided over this evening session.

February 21, Allahabad.—The discovery of 140 Bombs in a garden in the outskirts of Indore city is reported. A young Sanyasin has been arrested on suspicion.

Guntur.—The first session of the Andhra Political sufferers Conference commenced here today under the presidentship of Mr. N. Narayanamurti of Ganjam.

February 23, New Delhi.—In reply to the question put by Nilakanta Das about Suba's Book, Sir Henry Craik replied that the Government of India were satisfied that it was undesirable to permit its importation into India.

February 27, Calicut.—The Kerala Provincial Congress Committee rejected by 20 votes to 2 the new amendments regarding the change of the Congress creed.

February 28, New Delhi.—The Finance member presented his budget for 1935-36 in the Legislative Assembly today. Reduction of Silver duty by 2 as; abolition

of duty on Skins, reduction of income-tax surcharge by a third are the main features.

Madras.—Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathy has been nominated by the Congress to contest the By-election in the city to the Legislative Council.

March 1, Madras.—Mr. C. Basudev has resigned from the Justice party.

March 4, Patna.—Babu Rajendra Prasad has issued a statement dealing with the breaking down of the talk regarding Communal settlement.

March 5, Benares.—A Lahore Congress worker was arrested here last night in Chowk under Sec. 2 (1-B) and 2 (2-A) of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act on a warrant from Bengal C. I. D.

March 7, Calcutta.—The first military man to be placed on administrative duty is Major T. Stewart of Prince Albert Victor's own cavalry who has been appointed Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Head Quarters Station, Midnapore.

March 7. Lahore.—A suit claiming Rs. One lakh from the Secretary of State has been filed by Sain Charagdin of Amritsar. The plaintiff alleges that the expenses he incurred to counteract the Congress activities were promised to him by the Government, but not given subsequently.

March 8, Rangoon.—The bill fixing the salary of the President of the Burma Council as Rs. 1500 was thrown out by 46 to 19 votes yesterday.

March 10.—In the Assembly today, the adjournment motion moved by N. G. Ranga to discuss the policy of the Government underlying the Police raids and arrests of prominent leaders of the Trade Union Congress and Railways and other unions was ruled out of order by the President.

FOREIGN.

February 14, London.—Mr. George Lansbury moved a vote of censure against the Government of Great Britain regarding the policy of the Government on unemployment but the motion was rejected by the house.

February 18, Berlin.—Two well known Society women were sentenced to death for betraying military secrets.

February 21, Moscow. — Serge Sosnin, Secretary of the Communist Party Committee at Taakogorsk has been sentenced to three years for compelling the Railway Restaurant staff to eat cockroach soup.

February 22, Belgrade.—There was a clash between the peasants and the Police in which 13 persons were killed and 8 wounded.

February 27, London.—Sir Samuel Hoare made an important statement in the House of Commons that the Princes' objection to the federation will be considered and meanwhile the Bill will be proceeded with.

March 1, Saarbrucken.—Saar has joined Germany and the administration is taken over by the German Government.

March 4, Athens.—Martial Law was proclaimed following last night's attempted *coup d'etat* by the military. The Government is making frantic attempts to suppress the revolt.

London.—It is announced from Cranlinghs that the King of Siam officially handed his abdication to the Siamese delegation at 4-30 p.m. yesterday.

March 5, Budapest.—The Government has tendered its resignation. The Regent invited General Gomboes to form another Government which was sworn in with two changes compared with the last.

March 6, Paris.—One of the finest duels in France for many years was fought in the early morning between a corsican member of the Chamber of Deputies namely M. Campainchi a Barrister and M. Horace de Carbriccia the fiery director of the weekly newspaper " Gringoire."

March 7, Washington.—N. R. A. Chairman, Mr. Clay Williams resigned his chairmanship from the N. R. A. Board.

March 8, Lausanne.—Prince Ananda Mahilol, the nine year old nephew of the abdicated King Prajadhipok at present in Switzerland with his mother has been proclaimed King of Siam, with a council of Regency.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Madras Labour Party.

There was enacted at Pachayappa Hall on the 10th March a tragi-comedy under the guise of the first conference of the Madras Labour Party. It was a tragedy in that it was a demonstration of the great ignorance and the utter helplessness of the workers who were used by designing persons as pawns on the political chess board. It was a tragedy in that the redoutable Doctor Varadarajulu who intended the conference as a means of gaining control over the Labour unions but was outmanouvred by Mr. Basudev who displaced Doctor Naidu and became president of the Party. In the result the Doctor acknowledged defeat and staged a walk-out from the conference.

One of the surprises of the conference was the "opening" function. That ceremony was to have been performed by "Comrade" V. Ramasami Naicker, the champion 'Communist' of South India. His presence would have greatly added to the colour, the noise and the smell of the conference. But after his recent abject statement in the "Justice" forswearing every imposing slogan he has mouthed, he would have been hooted out of the conference. He realised that prudence was the better part of valour and kept out. But then the ceremony had to be performed and somebody had to be found to perform it. Doctor Naidu pulled the wires—as it was the only time when the Doctor was allowed access to the wires at the conference—and found Mr. V. Ramaswami Iyengar, popularly known to the Tamil reading public as "Vara." He was the most unlikely person in the world to do duty for his namesake "Comrade" Naicker. Confined to the world of letters "Vara" has been achieving fame and building up a following for himself. But he has been asked to be a stop-gap by Dr. Varadarajalu. It was a most imprudent thing that Vara has done by accepting this position. He has harmed himself and has injured the workers. The time is not yet when writers in our country could organise themselves as a labour union and participate in labour conferences on an equal footing with other manual workers.

The conference passed many colourless resolutions and many meaningless ones too. They have also passed a foolish one regarding import of rice into India. The present slump in the rice trade owing to lack of protective duties helps no one but the Government and the Zemindars whose revenue collections are fixed in money value and are independent of the market value of rice. The masses of Agricultural workers in the villages of India have their wages fixed in quantities of grain, part of which they consume as food and part they sell in order to purchase their necessaries. The amenities available to the village workers are directly in proportion to the market value of the village produce. The present slump in the rice trade has hit the millions of peasants and workers in the villages and has lowered their standard of living. Let not the city worker delude himself that he can gain at the expense of his brother who toils in the village. His own wages are fixed for him by his capitalist employer so that his standard of life may not be higher than that of the village worker. The resolution against protective duties on rice is a declaration of war against the masses of village workers. Workers cannot afford to fight each other. It would be suicidal. We can see in this resolution the baneful influence of the agitation that "comrade" Ramasami Naicker has been carrying

on against the imposition of duties on foreign rice. That agitation was part of Mr. Naicker's insidious propaganda in favour of the Government and the Zamindars to sacrifice the interests of the peasants and the workers. When will our workers learn to distinguish between their friends and foes?

Joshi's censure motion

N. M. Joshi cannot be accused of being an "extremist." He is a nominated member in the Assembly by the Government. Even such a person is finding it difficult to keep quiet when he sees the vagaries of the government and its policy in respect of Labour. He moved a cut motion in the Assembly to bring to the notice of the government the hardships undergone by many labour unions by arresting their leaders and declaring the unions illegal. This is the surest way of breaking the Trade Union movement in India and the Home member's spirited retort showed how far the government is determined in pursuing the policy of repression. The Home member justified the persecution of communists, took Joshi to task for having pleaded for tolerance and commanded the house "to repel the fantastic and utterly impossible suggestion that the Government should stand by to allow these organisations to grow." At the time of voting, the unaccountable silence of the congress party is significant. Comment is superfluous.

Bobbili Raj to end?

The leader of opposition in the Madras Legislative Council moved a motion of "No Confidence" in the present Ministry of Madras Government. 47 elected members of the legislative council stood up in favour of the motion and as such the motion is admitted and the President has fixed 14th Thursday for discussion.

The record of the present ministry is before the public. It is the bulwark of reaction and an open enemy of the people's interest. Even when the members of its own party agitated and sided with the popular cause, in respect of the remission of land revenue and other demands, the ministry without any shame voted with the reserved half and stood against any reduction or remission of land revenue. During the period under review, no measure has been enacted in the interest of the people of the province and even the little power, the ministry has, has been used to curtail the liberties of the public and create divisions in the local bodies with a view to keep the supporters of the Party in power. The attitude of the ministry in respect of the coming reforms is more tragic. It is giving false hopes to the rulers that the reforms will be acceptable to the people and sufficient number of people can be found to work the reforms with them. It is equally guilty of betraying the country by acquiescing to all the oppressive measures adopted by the reserved half against those engaged in promoting the fight for political and Social Justice.

Such being the case, if the ministry is overthrown, which we do not think will happen, either the governor will have to dissolve the council and order a general election or appoint some others as ministers to take charge of the tranferred half. If the Reserved half votes in favour of the Ministry, then its continuance is assured and the presidency will have to bear the havocs of its regime.

Statesmen get 'Cold'

The British Government and the German Government decided upon having a diplomatic talk regarding the Anglo-French pact and Sir John Simon was invited by the German Government to proceed to Berlin to discuss the outstanding problems with Herr Hitler. Meanwhile a white paper was issued by the British Government detailing their plans for Rearmament and providing adequate finance for armament building. In the said white

paper certain references were made against Germany against which the German Goverment took strong objection. The visit of Sir John Simon was cancelled, the reason given out to the public being that Herr Hitler is indisposed due to an attack of cold. But Herr Hitler can attend funerals and other important affairs of State. His cold was only directed against Sir John Simon.

In the House of Commons a vote of censure was moved by the leader of the opposition George Lansbury against the Government for its rearmament policy and for not trying to bring about disarmament through the League of Nations. The prime minister Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who was once an anti-war agitator and a pacifist, who faced imprisonment for being a conscientious objector to war, is now the head of this government and its policy of rearmament. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald would have the rare pleasure of hearing some of his antics from his own ex-colleagues—an unpleasant job which he wanted to avoid. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald could not attend the House of Commons due to an attack of 'cold'.

We wonder whether the infectionmay spread to India, especially to Madras when a vote of no confidence is moved against the Raja of Bobbili and his two other lieutenants. We hope that the Raja Sahib will be spared of the attack of cold in order to enable him to be present in the council to face the opposition's attack.

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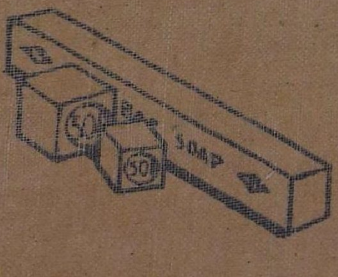

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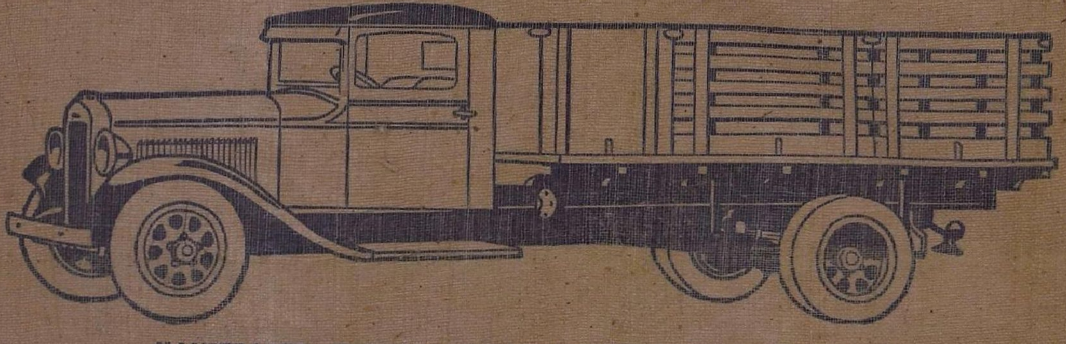

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